

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-NINTH YEAR

2535th MEETING: 7 MAY 1984

NEW YORK

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2535th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 7 May 1984, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Oleg A. TROYANOVSKY
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2535)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in Cyprus:
Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:

Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item [2531st to 2534th meetings] I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to take places at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Ecuador, Sri Lanka, the Syrian Arab Republic and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Dountas (Greece) and Mr. Kirca (Turkey) took places at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Jacobs (Antigua and Barbuda), Mr. Woolcott (Australia), Mr. Alborno (Ecuador), Mr. Wijewardane (Sri Lanka), Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that

I have received letters from the representatives of Cuba, Guyana, Jamaica, Mongolia and Viet Nam in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Karran (Guyana), Mr. Carr (Jamaica), Mr. Erdenchuluun (Mongolia) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The first speaker is the representative of Jamaica. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. CARR (Jamaica): At the outset I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. Your experience and renowned diplomatic skills give us the assurance that under your presidency the Council will be able to live up to its important responsibilities in the best possible way. I should like also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Vladimir Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the business of the Council last month. Finally, may I thank you, Mr. President and through you the other members of the Council for agreeing to my request to address the Council today.

5. The question of Cyprus, as members of the Council are fully aware, is rooted in the difficulties encountered by two peoples that have been constrained by history and geography to coexist and live together as one in the same territory. It may be recalled that, at its accession to independence on 16 August 1960, the island of Cyprus became a bicomunal Republic, pursuant to the agreements reached in February 1959 in Zurich and London between the parties—namely, the Greek Cypriots, the Turkish Cypriots, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

6. It is pertinent also to recall that the Constitution adopted at the advent of independence recognized the existence of two communities—the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot—whose interests were to be

guaranteed and safeguarded by that Constitution. In addition, the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee¹ signed by Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom further guaranteed the fundamental principles of that Constitution, including the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the new Cypriot State, as well as an equitable balance between the interests of both communities.

7. Members of the Council are fully aware of the salient and tragic events in the ensuing years: the bloody events of 1963, resulting in the establishment of a peace-keeping force in Cyprus following the adoption of Security Council resolution 186 (1964) and sporadic intercommunal talks beginning in 1968; renewed military activities in 1974, leading to General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) later that year calling upon all States to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and non-alignment of Cyprus, reaffirming the constitutional nature of the two communities and urging them to continue negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General in order to reach a political solution based on their fundamental and legitimate rights; and, last year, unilateral action to proclaim a so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which was subsequently declared invalid in Security Council resolution 541 (1983).

8. There has been a series of disturbing developments since the beginning of this year, as contained in the Secretary-General's report of 1 May 1984 [S/16519], namely, the announcement by the Turkish Cypriots on 6 March of their intention to adopt a flag of their own and the decision to conduct a constitutional referendum and elections this year in August and November, respectively.

9. In our view, these developments will further exacerbate and complicate the search for a peaceful and equitable solution to the question of Cyprus and cause added concern to the international community. In the view of my Government, these latest developments not only flout the General Assembly's resolution with respect to the unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus and Security Council resolution 541 (1983), but equally violate the 1960 Cypriot Constitution and the Treaty of Guarantee governing the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Cypriot State.

10. My Government believes that the latest unilateral proposals are incompatible with the efforts of the international community to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and incongruous with the existing constitutional provisions and treaties governing the political life of the State of Cyprus. It is inconceivable that the international community could be expected to accept these measures, and we therefore urge the initiators of the proposals to withdraw them.

11. From the very beginning of the Cypriot crisis, Jamaica has firmly supported and continues to support the resolution of the Cyprus question on the basis of ensuring the genuine independence, sovereignty, unity

and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. My Government deeply regrets that the intercommunal talks remain stalled after they had been so briefly resumed in Nicosia. We are seriously concerned at the continuing delay in resuming them.

12. The Secretary-General's latest report remains an ominous reminder, if any were needed, of the perils confronting this question if a peaceful and acceptable solution continues to elude us. We fully agree with the Secretary-General that in order to prevent any further deterioration of the situation it is indispensable to maintain a continued process of communication and negotiation in the search for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cyprus question.

13. It is therefore the earnest hope of my Government that the parties on which the success of the search for an agreed settlement of the problem ultimately depends will extend their increased co-operation to the Secretary-General so as to overcome the persistent difficulties that have hitherto impeded his efforts.

14. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

15. Mr. SAHNOUN (Algeria) [*interpretation from French*]: First of all, Mr. President, I should like to express to your predecessor, Mr. Kravets, the deep appreciation of the delegation of Algeria for the outstanding manner in which he carried out the duties which are now yours for the month of May. The relations of trust, friendship and co-operation between our two countries further enhance my pleasure in congratulating you most warmly on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf. I am convinced that under your competent guidance the Security Council will have performed a useful function in once again considering the situation prevailing in Cyprus.

16. The question of Cyprus, which the United Nations has been discussing actively for some 20 years, is clearly linked to the will of peoples which, emerging from the colonial period, wished to enjoy independent national existence in full sovereignty. However, this question is increasingly assuming the characteristics of a race against time.

17. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which the Republic of Cyprus is a founding member, has repeatedly insisted—and these words carry full weight today—on full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of Cyprus. At the same time, it has sought to defend the cardinal principles of contemporary international law and to be a driving force in the search for a final political solution based on these principles and taking into account the common destiny of the component parts of the Cypriot people. Quite naturally, the Non-Aligned Movement has taken an active part in

forming the international consensus on the necessarily peaceful final settlement of the Cyprus crisis, and it is because of its conviction that the Cypriot communities must perforce coexist harmoniously that it has constantly called for constructive dialogue and reconciliation. This conviction led to the creation of the contact group of non-aligned countries on Cyprus, over which Algeria has the honour to preside. With discretion and perseverance, the group is endeavouring to make a modest contribution to the implementation of the resolutions and decisions of the Non-Aligned Movement on Cyprus by resolutely calling for responsible dialogue between the Cypriot communities.

18. It was in this spirit and with this outlook that the representatives of the member countries of the contact group, after the Movement's Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government had reaffirmed its position on this question, went to Cyprus, at the invitation of that country's Government, and held many meetings with Government authorities and spokesmen for both communities. At that time we clearly expressed our full support for the Secretary-General's initiatives. The commendable efforts of the Secretary-General gave ground for great hope for the establishment of conditions conducive to launching the process of dialogue and settling the crisis.

19. Looked at in the light of the justifiable optimism created by the facts I have mentioned, the proclamation of a so-called independent State in the northern part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus on 15 November 1983 clearly seemed to be an unfortunate development containing the seeds of further complication of the situation.

20. The Security Council, in resolution 541 (1983) of 18 November 1983, handed down on behalf of the international community an authoritative opinion on the political meaning of the *de facto* situation which had been created and on its lack of legal validity. It was therefore reasonable to hope that there would be a healthy reversal of the trend and a new spur to efforts, particularly by the Secretary-General, to generate and maintain a real dynamic for peace in place of the escalation of tension and the exacerbation of the crisis, to the advantage of all. The current meetings of the Security Council prove, unfortunately, that events are taking a different course.

21. The measures and initiatives taken or contemplated in the extension of the act of 15 November 1983, which the Council has declared null and void, cannot claim any kind of legitimacy. Above and beyond the legal aspect of the question, we are compelled to note that those measures and initiatives run counter to the necessary reconciliation that would be conducive to the just and definitive solution that the international community advocates.

22. While we appreciate that there is a certain frustration and disappointment and while we are aware of the

legitimate fears of the two communities, we feel bound to state that measures that could call into question yet again in one way or another the fundamental principles embodied in the Charter are so serious that the international community must denounce them.

23. Today not only the unity but the sovereignty and the independence of the island are seriously threatened. Partition and annexation of Cyprus threaten to become reality. This would be tragic, not only for the people of Cyprus in all its component parts, but also for peace and stability in a particularly disturbed region which arouses so many expansionist desires and ambitions.

24. We are fully aware of the complexity of the problem. Having visited the island at the head of the non-aligned contact group on Cyprus, we know what still remains to be done to create a climate conducive to dialogue and the quest for a peaceful settlement. It is incumbent upon the Security Council and the international community to act as the essential catalysts, first to halt the process of deterioration of the situation and then to re-establish real communication between the two communities, which alone can gradually restore relations of trust with full respect for all their legitimate rights and within the framework of harmonious coexistence.

25. In this connection I should like to stress the importance of the clear and specific recommendations of the Secretary-General in his report of 1 May 1984 [S/16519]. The Secretary-General stresses that it is for the Council to give a new impetus to the search for a peaceful settlement, after ensuring that everything possible is done to see that the situation does not continue to deteriorate, and he states that he is ready to continue to carry out the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Council as long as there is clear support for this.

26. The Security Council can and must revive hope. It must change the course of events, once again bring its unanimous authority to bear in achieving an international consensus on this question and give a decisive impetus to the peaceful settlement process so that the people of Cyprus may come through this time of trial in peace and harmony.

27. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): It has just occurred to me, Sir, that, this will be the second and the last occasion in my lifetime on which, as a representative to the Council, I shall have the pleasure of complimenting you on your assumption of the office of President. I assure you that this fact in itself will in no way diminish the high regard I have always had for your friendly charm, your diplomatic skill and your experienced handling of difficult situations. I think it is particularly appropriate that we have you to guide us on this delicate question today. I wish also to express my deep appreciation to Mr. Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic for the excellent way he handled the duties of President last month.

28. Once more, with great concern, we are constrained to speak in the Council on the situation in Cyprus. Malta speaks with a sense of regret and foreboding about the latest turn of events, but we hope eventually to break away from this mood of despondency and deadlock. We speak from the perspective of a sister island Republic in the Mediterranean, with a sense of solidarity with the people—all the people—of Cyprus, as we strive together for reconciliation and peace in the island and throughout the Mediterranean.

29. We also speak from the perspective of another small country, with abiding faith in the United Nations but alarmed at the frequency with which powerful countries are resorting to lawlessness and the use of force incompatible with the Charter. Nevertheless, we remain convinced that recourse to the United Nations is the proper course for nations to follow.

30. Finally, we speak out of ties of sincere friendship with all the other countries of the region, including those that were valiant adversaries in the past and are valued friends today. It is perhaps on that last note that we would prefer to concentrate our participation today.

31. Cyprus is a country with a long and eventful history, proud in its ancient civilization. One unchangeable facet of that history is the presence of two communities on the island and the island's proximity to Greece and Turkey. It is a historical fact that complex difficulties of a political, constitutional, administrative and cultural nature arose between the two communities in the island, both before and after independence.

32. We need not today delve into the reasons, but the cries of "*enosis*" and "*partition*" respectively were raised loudly by the leaders of the two communities in the struggle for independence. The echoes of those stirring slogans, so strong to their respective supporters but so frightening to their opponents, unfortunately have not yet faded away completely, as has been all too evident from the debate so far. On the contrary, those concepts have remained part of the political lexicon of spokesmen and leaders—not so much, it seems to me, in terms of practical possibilities, but, rather, as enduring cultural links with long-held traditions of thought.

33. It is also on record that many objective and independent observers of different nationalities—for instance, Lord Radcliffe of the United Kingdom and Mr. Galo Plaza of the United Nations—after careful study in the island of Cyprus saw the best prospects for the future of the island in a unified, independent country. That certainly was the negotiated basis of the independence of Cyprus. This view has been, and remains, supported strongly and consistently by the international community, as the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council have confirmed on innumerable occasions.

34. There has always been a tremendous fund of international good will towards all the people of Cyprus, as

well as a strong feeling and clear determination that they should be left in peace to prosper as one nation, free from outside interference, and with all indigenous citizens enjoying equal rights. There is, similarly, a sense of international outrage at what is being done to the island today.

35. After the tragic events that led to the armed military intervention in 1974—10 troubled years ago—the environment in Cyprus was heavy-handedly changed. The details are still vivid in our minds and were restated last week. The grim evidence cannot be denied: families untraced, families uprooted from their homes, forced changes in the demography and a line of mines and barbed wire dividing the island, with foreign troops in large numbers occupying more than a third of the country.

36. Yet, even under this ominous duress, the Government of Cyprus has remained calm and exercised maximum restraint. It has made every effort and taken several initiatives to co-operate with the international community and with the Turkish Cypriot leadership. A welcome ray of hope at last pierced the despondent gloom when the leaders of the two communities negotiated and signed, at the highest level, the accord of 1977 [see S/12323, para. 5] and the 10-point agreement of May 1979 [see S/13369, para. 51]. Those accords were intended to reassure both sides that neither *enosis* nor partition would henceforth be pursued.

37. Two of the most significant elements in the latter agreement bear quoting in full. They are as follows:

"2. The basis for the talks will be the Makarios/Denktaş guidelines of 12 February 1977 and the United Nations resolutions relevant to the Cyprus question.

"...

"6. It was agreed to abstain from any action which might jeopardize the outcome of the talks, and special importance will be given to initial practical measures by both sides to promote goodwill, mutual confidence and the return to normal conditions."

38. In all fairness, and with the greatest respect, even though we are told here that those agreements are the basis on which the intercommunal talks are being held and that the agreements remain valid, it is difficult to regard the actions taken on 14 November last year, and 17 April this year—as well as others already publicly declared to be going to take place in future—as being compatible with the provisions of the points quoted above, or, perhaps even less, with the studious, patient, quiet and dedicated efforts of the Secretary-General in exercise of the mandate given to him by the Security Council. Indeed, the developments do speak for themselves; they are completely against the Council's decisions and cannot be accepted.

39. This reflection of opinion is not a monopoly of this building. I could—but will not—quote reams of independent opinion in articles from a wide selection of newspapers, magazines and other periodicals which deplore the stalling tactics in the intercommunal talks. These talks, as has been recalled, have already dragged on now for almost six years, since June 1978. The Council of Europe, the British Commonwealth of Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in general terms have followed suit, denouncing the military actions of 1974, calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces and not recognizing the subsequent unilateral measures of the Turkish Cypriot leadership.

40. It should, I submit, be clear to all that there is no international conspiracy against the Turkish community in Cyprus. There is only a widespread international concern that it is not helping the objectives of peace by the divisive methods it is pursuing. The United Nations has scrupulously ensured, in a proper manner that the concerns of the Turkish Cypriot community are heard. Decisions of the United Nations are expressed after due consideration, and taking into account all the known facts of the situation. The decisions should therefore be heeded for what they are, not misconstrued into what they are not meant to be.

41. The question now before us is to assess the current impasse and to suggest a fair and practical course of action. For this, our best counsel continues to be to rely on the latest report of the Secretary-General [S/16519]. What is contained in his latest report should come as no surprise. The frequency and stridency of the letters from both sides addressed to the Council before the presentation of the report, the intemperate language of those letters, the complex argumentation on constitutional issues and, above all, the constant accusations and counter-accusations, told their own sad story, which was openly demonstrated in the debate last week. It is obvious that a debate for the public gallery is no substitute for hard negotiation. It is equally obvious that quiet diplomacy on the complex issues at stake is the best course for progress. But progress requires a determination to succeed, not to destroy, to co-operate in, not to frustrate, the search for steady progress. Because of negative attitudes, even language becomes contorted. We read in paragraph 12 of the report, for instance, that President Kyprianou encouraged the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to develop "an approach to improving on an interim basis the situation concerning certain disputed issues in order to facilitate a high-level meeting leading to a resumption of the intercommunal dialogue". Yet even with such limited objectives, these initiatives encountered Turkish Cypriot obstruction and delaying tactics.

42. The Secretary-General's comprehensive summary is commendably objective in its fairness and restraint, despite the obstacles and frustrations placed in the way of his dedicated efforts. It is obvious, as he rightly observes in his letter of 14 April to Mr. Denktas [*ibid.*, annex III], that he can only pursue his mission of

good offices with the *bona fide* co-operation and support of those concerned. That, therefore, is the first essential prerequisite; the parties must recall that the international community is striving to help them overcome the mutual fears and suspicions that are preventing them from making the progress that they both claim to seek but have not so far obtained.

43. The second prerequisite is the continuation of the Secretary-General's good offices, despite this regrettable setback. We wish to recall that both the 1977 and the 1979 agreements were negotiated by the Secretary-General. He has mastered all the details of the complex negotiating process and has a keen perception of the positions of both communities as well as of the mandate entrusted to him by the Council.

44. The third requirement is for the Council to act with solidarity and in concert now, so as unambiguously to urge all parties to co-operate, in good faith and with renewed dedication, in the work of the Secretary-General, which could perhaps also be intensified. We are glad to note at least from this debate the importance that all sides attach to the debate itself and to the need for a peaceful solution. The Security Council has entrusted the Secretary-General with the task of working precisely for that purpose. He has made prodigious efforts and shown an admirable commitment to progress. He therefore deserves unequivocal support. This determination could also appropriately be conveyed to the protagonists by influential friends of the parties much more insistently than ever before, for there are powerful collective forces at play in the Cyprus question.

45. The fourth prerequisite is the continued, unhindered stationing of United Nations forces in Cyprus; they have already rendered sterling service to the country and to the cause of peace. We renew our thanks and appreciation to the contributing countries for this service.

46. In the final analysis, a solution cannot and should not be imposed on Cyprus. The people—all the indigenous people—of Cyprus have to learn to live with one another in peace with themselves and with their immediate neighbours. No one community can prevail over the other, nor can any one neighbour impose its will on Cyprus or on any part of the island, if peace is really to be secured.

47. The tragic events of 1974 have only served to confirm this reality. A continuation of the policy of division is only a prescription for perpetual tension and strife. At this critical period, therefore, at this the moment of truth, we wish to compliment the President of Cyprus for the dignified way in which he has pleaded his country's cause, and to thank him for his presence among us, for his abiding faith in this Organization and for his patient quest for peace and reconciliation.

48. The Government of Malta wishes to reassure the President that we will spare no effort within our modest

means. We urge the leaders of the other parties concerned to rally to his call to start writing a new chapter in the history of Cyprus and the Mediterranean. The London and Zurich Agreements' under enlightened leadership heralded a new vision of hope for the independence of Cyprus—"a start in freedom", as the former Governor of the island, Lord Caradon, then Sir Hugh Foot, called it. That freedom has passed through a period of turbulence and travail, but that turbulence is in itself proof that it is no solution, that it should not be prolonged.

49. On the contrary, the leaders of Cyprus and its neighbouring countries should in the near future get together at the highest level and chart a course solemnly recognizing the sovereignty, unity, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of a demilitarized Cyprus, as a shining jewel of reconciliation in the eastern Mediterranean, at peace and on friendly and equal terms with both its important neighbours.

50. Let me end by recalling that, in the past, ethnic harmony prevailed for centuries in Cyprus. There is no reason why this should not be so in future, in a free and independent Cyprus. There are many ways in which the international community can guarantee equal rights to all Cypriot citizens should this really be necessary. The tragedy of 1974 should never have happened. We have to make sure that its repercussions will not stifle the genuine progress that is in the common interest of the two communities, of neighbouring countries and of peace, with the continued help of the United Nations, through its dedicated Secretary-General.

51. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): Permit me first of all, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. My delegation is greatly pleased and satisfied at that, and your well-known diplomatic talents and skill, as well as your rich experience, give us justifiable confidence that the deliberations of this Council will be guided effectively. I should like also to express my delegation's deep appreciation of the distinguished and dignified manner in which your predecessor, Mr. Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, presided over the Council last month.

52. The Council is currently seized of a matter that is a delicate as it is serious, and I should like to express my delegation's position on it. Before doing that, however, I must pay a special tribute to certain individuals for their respective contributions to efforts towards placing the current debate in its proper context and perspective.

53. First, the delegation of Zimbabwe very warmly welcomes and appreciates the major statement made in this Chamber on 3 May [253rd meeting] by Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus. In that objective, balanced and analytical statement the President gave an account of the very grave threat to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integ-

rity of his country. Moreover, his account demonstrates beyond any doubt that the grave threat to the very existence of Cyprus is the work of external forces and that these forces of disintegration are the same ones as prompted the unilateral and illegal declaration of the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus by the Turkish Cypriot leadership on 15 November 1983.

54. Secondly, in reaffirming its full confidence in the Secretary-General, the delegation of the Republic of Zimbabwe wishes also to place on record its appreciation of and satisfaction at the energetic and extremely objective manner in which he went about carrying out his very delicate and difficult mission of good offices in search of a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem, as mandated by the Council's resolutions, including resolutions 541 (1983) and 544 (1983). In this connection we would like to join those who have already very warmly welcomed the Secretary-General's report of 1 May 1984 [S/16519], which was submitted pursuant to paragraph 2 of resolution 544 (1983). As the Secretary-General observes in paragraph 23 of that report, he has simply allowed the developments outlined in his report to speak for themselves.

55. I wish now to turn to the developments which prompted the Government of the Republic of Cyprus to call for an urgent meeting of the Council. In making that request [S/16514] the representative of Cyprus mentioned as justification for such a meeting the grave situation in his country as exemplified by the "exchange of ambassadors" between Turkey and the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. It must be pointed out here that this action is only one in a catalogue of similar dangerous developments, such as, for instance, the talk about the creation and adoption of a so-called national flag of the illegal secessionist entity, the holding of a constitutional referendum and other such activities.

56. The position of Zimbabwe regarding these developments is very clear. Just as we unreservedly condemned and rejected the illegal unilateral declaration of independence by the Turkish Cypriot leadership on 15 November 1983, so also we cannot accept recent developments and efforts by the Turkish Cypriot leaders and their external allies designed to consolidate that same unilateral declaration of independence. We also regard the adoption of a so-called national flag by the Turkish Cypriot community and the exchange of so-called ambassadors with any State as totally incompatible with the letter and the spirit of the Council's resolutions on Cyprus, especially resolution 541 (1983), which not only calls for the withdrawal of that legally invalid unilateral declaration of independence, but also enjoins all States not to grant recognition to any Cypriot State other than the Republic of Cyprus. Moreover, we view the purported exchange of so-called ambassadors and the contemplated holding of a so-called constitutional referendum and elections as moves designed specifically to consolidate and perpetuate the unilateral declaration of independence and therefore to prejudice and

frustrate the efforts of the Secretary-General to use his good offices in the search of a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus.

57. In talking about actions and activities which render the Secretary-General's already difficult mission of good offices even more complicated and frustrating, we regret to observe once again, as we did while contributing to the Council's debate on the question of the unilateral declaration of independence on 18 November 1983 [2500th meeting], that the actions of the Turkish Cypriot leadership constitute a rude and intolerable slap in the face of the international community. For, just as the unilateral declaration of independence was conceived and made last year at a time when the Secretary-General's own personal efforts in search of a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem were under way, so the recent announcement of the purported exchange of so-called ambassadors, as well as of other measures to consolidate the illegal unilateral declaration of independence, was made at a time of intensive exchanges between the Secretary-General and the parties directly and mainly concerned in the Cyprus question with a view to clarifying and elaborating a draft scenario for consideration by the Cypriot communities. This point is very clearly stated in the eleventh paragraph of the Secretary-General's report which we have already cited. And, by the way, as the Secretary-General observers in the same paragraph, "Throughout those exchanges I had reason to feel confident that I could count on the understanding and assistance of the Turkish Government in moving forward."

58. Regrettably, however, it is now very clear that there can be no forward movement for the Secretary-General at this stage because the understanding which had given him hope has been removed by the recently announced developments. Despite what appears to be a bleak situation, however, we remain encouraged by his willingness, indeed determination, to continue to the best of his ability his mission of good offices. But, as he rightly reminds the Council, if his efforts are to meet with any success at all he must have the Council's unambiguous support, collectively and individually. For our part we would like to assure the Secretary-General of our continued support for his efforts in search of a just and lasting solution, since we cannot see any viable alternative line of action.

59. While calling upon all the other members of the Council similarly to pledge their support for the Secretary-General's efforts, we also wish to remind them of the pressing concerns of the Republic of Cyprus, namely, the immediate restoration of a state of legality in the northern part of the island and the need to ensure the constitutional oneness, sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Members of the Council will recall that the Council has already pronounced itself very clearly on this matter in its resolution 541 (1983), which, *inter alia*, called for the immediate withdrawal of the illegal unilateral declaration of independence and enjoined all States to respect the

sovereignty, independence, unity, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

60. The Republic of Cyprus has requested an urgent meeting of the Council because not only has resolution 541 (1983) remained unimplemented, but it is also already being flagrantly violated by a Member of the United Nations. The Council must reject any attempts to present the international community with a series of illegal *faits accomplis* in Cyprus. It should insist instead on the need to guarantee the constitutional and territorial unity and indivisibility of the Republic of Cyprus. It is our understanding that the Government of the Republic of Cyprus will soon submit to the Council a draft resolution designed to achieve these objectives. We, for our part, will co-operate with the delegation of Cyprus and other delegations to ensure successful negotiations on the adoption of such a text.

61. Mr. BASSOLE (Upper Volta) [*interpretation from French*]: Mr. President, it is a great satisfaction to see you, a son of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, guiding over the Security Council for this month, which is proving to be one involving a great deal of work. Your eminent qualities as a seasoned and competent diplomat and your wisdom guarantee the success of our work. You can rely on the willingness of my delegation to work indefatigably with the other members of the Council to ensure that your task is as easy as possible. I should also like on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf to address very warm and sincere congratulations to Mr. Vladimir Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, who so competently directed the work of the Council last month.

62. Once again the Security Council is meeting to consider the thorny question of Cyprus. My delegation has listened closely to the statements made by the representatives of the parties concerned. It is good to see that a number of common points seem to exist between the two, above all the quest for national unity, territorial integrity and the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Cyprus.

63. Nevertheless we must admit that there are very deep differences that day by day take us further away from a peaceful solution. It is extremely regrettable that actions such as the occupation of part of the territory of Cyprus by foreign forces and the unilateral declaration of independence by a self-styled Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus have constantly frustrated the efforts of the international community.

64. Upper Volta, which is a non-aligned country profoundly wedded to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, deplores the situation and appeals that all resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on this matter be respected, particularly Council resolution 541 (1983). In adopting that resolution on 18 November 1983, the Council not only deplored the declaration made by the Turkish Cypriot authorities but also considered it juridically

null and void and demanded its retraction. It went on to call upon all States not to recognize any Cypriot State other than the Republic of Cyprus and also asked the two parties to co-operate fully and openly with the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices.

65. It was our hope that that resolution would cause common sense and the voice of reason to prevail, making it possible for negotiations to continue under the auspices of the Secretary-General, who for years now has been constantly working for a peaceful solution. Unfortunately that was not the case. Our hopes crumbled, and the United Nations was left empty-handed.

66. Thus, in flagrant violation of resolution 541 (1983), the Turkish authorities not only recognized the self-styled Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus but also proceeded to exchange so-called ambassadors. Already, on 10 April 1984 Turkish Cypriot leaders announced that a draft constitution was ready for submission to referendum in August and that elections would take place in November 1984. Such steps needlessly complicate the process of communication and negotiation which has so constantly been advocated by the Secretary-General and which he has duly emphasized in his report.

67. It is thus to the Turkish Cypriot leaders that we make an urgent and heartfelt appeal to heed Security Council resolution 541 (1983) and thus enable the Secretary-General fully to exercise his functions.

68. My country believes that the unity, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus must be defended and preserved. That will be possible only if the foreign occupying forces are withdrawn from the island, which we believe would make it possible for the Cypriot peoples to settle their differences in the light of their higher interests.

69. Upper Volta would not attempt to defend the cause of one community against another, because for us both Cypriot communities form a single people sharing the same rights and duties. The purpose of these remarks is, rather, to call for the restoration of unity and to reiterate our attachment to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of a State Member of the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Our fidelity to the fundamental principles of those two organizations, as well as to many others, enjoins that attitude on us.

70. The situation that prevails in Cyprus is grave and delicate, and if it is to tackle it successfully the Council must be firm in seeking implementation not only of past decisions but also, and above all, the one it will take as a result of this series of meetings. We believe the Council should particularly emphasize the imperative need for the parties strictly to abide by its decisions and find the proper ways and means to strengthen the role of the

Secretary-General, to whom we should like to pay a well deserved tribute for his untiring efforts.

71. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Afghanistan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

72. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): Mr. President, it is with great rejoicing and pleasure that the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan takes note of the fact that a person of so many high qualities has been entrusted with the task of steering the Council in its deliberations on a very complicated issue. Your exemplary wisdom, your rich and vast experience and your well-established reputation as a master of the art of diplomacy are all valuable and much needed assets in ensuring the useful and constructive discussion of the question before the Council. To all that should be added the pleasant fact that you represent a great country which for the first time in man's history denounced the use of force in international relations and adopted a foreign policy based on the principles of good-neighbourliness, friendship and co-operation among nations. Mutually faithful and consistent application of those cardinal principles in the relations between our two countries has provided history with one of the most brilliant examples of friendly and fraternal relations between nations. We wish you every success in the fulfilment of your responsible duties.

73. I wish to congratulate very warmly the representative of the fraternal Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Vladimir Alekseyevich Kravets, on the outstanding and most commendable manner in which he guided the Council's work last month.

74. The Security Council is once again requested by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus to convene to consider yet another ominous development on the unfortunate question of Cyprus. The gravity of the present situation in Cyprus, as stated in the letter dated 30 April 1984 from the representative of Cyprus to the President of the Security Council [S/16514], arises from new actions expressed in the "exchange of ambassadors" between Turkey and the illegal régime established in the occupied territory of the Republic of Cyprus in violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter and the provisions of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on the matter.

75. Less than six months ago the international community was struck by the appalling news of the unilateral declaration of independence by the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. That declaration, which dealt a severe blow to all the efforts of the international community to bring about a peaceful and acceptable solution to the question of Cyprus, cast serious doubt on the professed sincerity and willingness of the Turkish Cypriot leadership regarding the negotiations. That secessionist action came at a time when the world had attached great hopes to the efforts of

the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to find an early solution to the Cyprus issue on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions, the decisions and declarations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the high-level agreements on 12 February 1977 and 19 May 1979.

76. Only a few months before the unilateral declaration aimed at the partition of Cyprus, the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries reiterated its full solidarity with and support for the people and Government of the Republic of Cyprus and reaffirmed its respect for that country's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment. The heads of State or Government also expressed their deep concern at the fact that part of the Republic of Cyprus continued to be under foreign occupation, and they demanded the immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces as an essential basis for the solution of the Cyprus problem. They welcomed the proposal made by the President of Cyprus for the total demilitarization of Cyprus.

77. It was against that background that the international community was unequivocal and almost universal in condemning the declaration of 15 November 1983. The Security Council, after considering the complaint by Cyprus, deplored the declaration of the Turkish Cypriot authorities of the purported secession of part of the Republic of Cyprus, considered the declaration as legally invalid and called for its withdrawal. It called upon all States not to recognize any Cypriot State other than the Republic of Cyprus and requested the Secretary-General to pursue his mission of good offices in order to achieve the earliest possible progress towards a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus.

78. Since then the Secretary-General has pursued his commendable and tireless efforts. Regrettably, however, the potentially dangerous situation on the island has not only persisted but continues to deteriorate as a result of further provocative actions and announcements by the leadership of the Turkish Cypriots, the most recent of which prompted the convening of this series of Security Council meetings.

79. We listened most attentively to the passionate and moving statement of the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Spyros Kyprianou, who rightly warned the international community of the grave consequences of the present action for the future and the very existence of the Republic of Cyprus [2531st meeting]. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan fully associates itself with the demand that not only should an end be put to such actions but appropriate measures should be taken to reverse all previous actions taken in violation of the principles of international law and the provisions of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on Cyprus.

80. Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of

Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in a message addressed to the President of the Republic of Cyprus, stated:

"The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as you know, has always stood for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and recognizes only one Cyprus—the Republic of Cyprus.

"I would like to assure you once again that the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will continue their resolute support for the restoration of the territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Cyprus."

81. In conclusion, I should like to express the Afghan delegation's gratitude to you, Mr. President, and through you to the other members of the Security Council for according it the privilege of participating in the Council's debate on the question of Cyprus.

82. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Guyana. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

83. Mr. KARRAN (Guyana): I wish to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for permitting my delegation to address the Council on this agenda item.

84. Permit me at the very outset to extend to you, Sir, my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. The international community is well aware of your experience and diplomatic skill, which give us the assurance that the Council's work will be competently guided during the month of May. May I take this opportunity also to pay a special tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Vladimir Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, for the capable manner in which he conducted the Council's business during the month of April.

85. The Security Council is meeting again at the request of the Government of Cyprus to consider the grave situation in Cyprus. It was only in November of last year that the Council was forced to meet as a result of the events which took place there on 15 November. The declaration of the Turkish Cypriot community or that date purporting to create an independent State has caused much concern the world over. That action is definitely an attempt to consolidate and to give legitimacy to a situation created by invasion and occupation. As we are all aware, it has been denounced by the international community.

86. As a consequence of that illegal act, on 18 November the Security Council adopted resolution 541 (1983), which *inter alia* deplored the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot authorities of the purported secession of

part of the Republic of Cyprus, considered the declaration legally invalid and called for its withdrawal, and requested the Secretary-General to pursue his mission of good offices in order to achieve the earliest possible progress towards a just and lasting settlement in Cyprus.

87. My delegation compliments the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts in pursuance of his mandate under resolution 541 (1983), as reflected in his report contained in document S/16519. The realistic proposals he submitted deserve greater attention and consideration by the parties concerned. The international community had looked forward hopefully to progress when the talks were initiated under the auspices of the Secretary-General. But the response from the Turkish Cypriot authorities left no doubt, if there had been any, of their intention.

88. On 10 April 1984 this intention became manifest, when the Turkish authorities, in keeping with their partitionist policy, announced their intention to hold a "referendum on a new constitution" on 19 August and "general elections" in the occupied areas on 4 November. These decisions are in clear and flagrant violation of resolution 541 (1983) and in direct conflict with the proposals submitted by the Secretary-General.

89. Guyana has always taken a special and keen interest in the question of Cyprus. At stake here are the principles of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, non-use of force in the settlement of disputes, and non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

90. My delegation listened carefully to the address delivered by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Spyros Kyprianou, on Thursday, 3 May. He explained in the most lucid terms the possible fate of his country should the international community fail to act to bring a halt to the current illegalities and reverse the trend of events. My delegation feels that the responsibility rests with the Security Council, and the more so with its permanent members, to ensure that the Republic of Cyprus remains a unified State.

91. General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. In March last year at New Delhi the heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries also reiterated their support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

92. My delegation listened carefully to the statement made to the Council last Thursday by Mr. Denktas as representative of the Turkish Cypriot community. Guyana has always advocated that the legitimate rights of the Turkish Cypriot community should be respected. However, we cannot see any justification for the illegal acts perpetrated by the leaders of that community. In total disregard for the international community, the

Turkish Cypriot authorities proceeded to create institutions and *faits accomplis* which tend to place insurmountable hurdles in the path of any peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem.

93. My Government has the honour of serving as a member of the non-aligned contact group on Cyprus and as a member of the Commonwealth action group on Cyprus. We are committed to the peaceful resolution of the problem of Cyprus based on the principles of international law and the relevant United Nations resolutions.

94. My delegation feels that the Secretary-General has a very important role to play in finding a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem. He has said in his report:

"The members of the Security Council will wish to give careful thought to the steps that will have to be taken in order to prevent any further deterioration of the situation." [See S/16519, para. 23.]

And he added:

"It is for the Council now to assess the present situation and to decide what action needs to be taken to revitalize the search for a peaceful settlement and to provide it with the necessary political support." [Ibid., para. 24.]

My delegation expresses deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for continuing to make his good offices available to this cause.

95. The Security Council must take such measures as to ensure the implementation of its resolutions on this problem. Its resolution 367 (1975) called on the parties concerned to refrain from any action which might jeopardize the negotiations between representatives of the two communities and to take steps that would facilitate the creation of the climate necessary for the success of those negotiations. The Council has a duty to ensure that the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the small State of the Republic of Cyprus be respected.

96. The President of the Republic of Cyprus has made an appeal to the Council and the international community. His call for the Council's support deserves a positive response.

97. The PRESIDENT [interpretation from Russian]: The next speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

98. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam): Last month my delegation had an opportunity to congratulate Mr. Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on his assumption of the presidency of the Council. He fulfilled his duties brilliantly and that responsibility is

now yours, Mr. President, the skilful, experienced and talented representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Allow me to say how pleased I am to see you presiding over this body for the month of May. I am confident that you will be successful in guiding the work of the Council. I also wish to express my thanks to all the members of the Council for giving me another opportunity to take part in this important debate.

99. Time and again we have had to take up the question of Cyprus in the Council. For the past nine years the General Assembly and the Security Council have been seized of the developments on that once peaceful island. Its two communities had been mingling there for years without any problem because Cyprus had carefully preserved its independence and unity and its status as a founding member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and as a Member of the United Nations. Then came the foreign military occupation of its northern part, followed by attempts to change the demographic composition and social structure of the occupied areas.

100. As Mr. Kyprianou, the President of Cyprus, has convincingly pointed out to the Council, they have been brazenly and gradually carrying out a premeditated scheme of permanent partition of Cyprus, which has culminated in the proclamation of the establishment of a separate State. In his words, a divided Cyprus could not survive, for that could be the end of Cyprus.

101. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, in a statement by the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry distributed under the symbol S/16174, joined the world public in denouncing and condemning this act of partition. Yet, in total disregard of the wishes of the international community, of Security Council resolution 541 (1983) declaring the aforementioned proclamation null and void and of the continued exercise of his good offices by the Secretary-General, the separatists, supported by a big foreign country, decided to exchange so-called ambassadors with the latter—which the Secretary-General considers as having placed in jeopardy his current efforts—and to proceed with the so-called constitutional referendum and elections aimed at legalizing the partition.

102. Meanwhile, the legitimate Government of Cyprus, for its part, has been making every effort to bring about national reconciliation and unity. It is also anxious, as stated in its letter of 11 January 1984 to the Secretary-General [S/16272], to secure as soon as possible a peaceful, just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the Cyprus problem that would take into due account the legitimate interests of both communities on the island. But so far there has been no response to those efforts.

103. What is going on in Cyprus can be better understood in a broader perspective. These events are direct consequences of the plots hatched by the imperialists. It is their common practice to sow the seeds of discord,

mistrust and hostility among peoples and States, to resort to the use of force, to cause tensions and to create instability in various regions of the world, thus serving the arms race and their global strategy. Cyprus, with its strategic significance, has caught the eye of the evil forces, which makes it what it is now. Not only are the independence and unity of Cyprus undermined, but peace, security and stability in the Mediterranean and adjacent areas and in the world at large are endangered as well.

104. The situation in Cyprus has now reached a new, critical point which deserves special attention. The independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of Cyprus, as well as its very existence as a unified country, have been gravely threatened. A small, non-aligned country Member of the United Nations runs the risk of being erased from the political map of the world. The fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the basic norms of international law are being trampled upon. The President of Cyprus himself had to come to New York and address the special plenary meeting of non-aligned countries convened at the United Nations Headquarters. The representative of India, the chairman of the meeting, on behalf of the participants, expressed concern about the situation in Cyprus and firmly pledged support for its people, in conformity with the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

105. We come from a country that was forcibly divided for more than 20 years. The imperialists, with the connivance of international reactionary forces, made the utmost effort to prolong the partition for their own benefits. But we fought the longest war in history, with great sacrifices, and succeeded in reunifying our country. From our own experience we can say to the people of Cyprus that we fully understand and really share their overriding concern; we completely support their resolve to exercise their right to self-determination, their efforts to seek national reconciliation and a comprehensive political solution to the problem. We are convinced that the conditions should be created to enable the people of the island to solve their internal affairs without any interference or pressure from outside.

106. My delegation commends the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to contribute to finding a peaceful solution to the problem, which he sees to be the better way. The events in Cyprus have created a dangerous precedent. The same thing might happen in other parts of the world as well—South-East Asia for one. Would we stand aside and watch if the expansionist Power in Asia were to manipulate a community of people of the same origin as itself in a third country to split away and set up a separate State? We demand that the manipulator country stop meddling in the internal affairs of Cyprus and let the people there decide their own destiny. Time is running out for Cyprus. We fully believe that some stronger action should be taken right now.

We call earnestly upon the Council to show more serious concern about the situation in Cyprus, to provide the Secretary-General's mission of good offices with the necessary political support and to take urgent and effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter to guarantee the implementation of the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

107. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

108. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Mr. President, I should like first to say how pleased I am to see you presiding over the Security Council. Your well-known talent and diplomatic skill guarantee the successful guidance of the meetings, which are of particular importance to the international community. I also wish to thank members of the Council for the opportunity to take part in the debate. Similarly, I express my delegation's gratitude to Mr. Vladimir Kravets, your predecessor in the chair, Sir, representative of the fraternal Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, for the impeccable manner in which he presided over the Council's work during April.

109. As on previous occasions, we are meeting once again to consider the situation in Cyprus, a small non-aligned country whose independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity are seriously jeopardized as a result of foreign occupation and actions taken to make a *fait accompli* of the partition of the country by military might.

110. Indeed, several months ago the Security Council saw the need to condemn the unilateral declaration of independence by the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community and to condemn the establishment of a so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus as defying the rule of law and the efforts of the United Nations to bring about a peaceful settlement to the question of Cyprus. Today the Council has to deal with not only the refusal of those leaders to end the illegal situation that they created but also new steps, such as an exchange of ambassadors between Turkey and the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, intended to lend validity to something lacking any legal foundation.

111. Like other members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Cuba has always advocated a peaceful, negotiated settlement to the question of Cyprus, which of course presupposes the holding of meaningful, open talks between both communities on the island on an equal footing.

112. In the months before the unilateral declaration of independence by the Turkish Cypriot leaders we cherished the hope that the dialogue fostered by the Secretary-General would lead to something acceptable to both parties to the conflict. Since the events of No-

vember 1983, however, we have been met with the refusal of those leaders to implement Security Council resolution 541 (1983) and more recently with the new steps to which I have referred, which, unfortunately, seek to create an impenetrable barrier between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot nations.

113. Whatever the arguments advanced—and we listened carefully to what the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community, Mr. Rauf Denktaş, said in the Council—we can only agree that the measures adopted by the Turkish Cypriot side contravene the resolutions of the United Nations and make increasingly difficult the achievement of a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the conflict.

114. We are aware of the legitimate rights that can be claimed, and indeed are claimed, by representatives of both communities and of the basic fact that there are two communities, a fact which defines the nature of the Cypriot State. These are inescapable elements of any real solution. But we are also aware that acts of force can never replace agreements reached around the negotiating table, where every party willingly agrees to what is just and reasonable and meets the legitimate interests of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot peoples.

115. In his dramatic statement to the Council, President Spyros Kyprianou warned us of the dire consequences for the independence of Cyprus of the unchecked development of the process started by the occupation of part of the national territory by foreign forces, followed by last year's unilateral declaration of independence. The responsibility for what has happened in Cyprus rests, of course, on those who have abandoned the path of negotiations and have sought to impose the way of force, even on the members of the Security Council, who must not disregard the urgent appeal of the President of Cyprus nor allow the Council's own resolutions to be violated.

116. The process has indeed been long and arduous, and today we are in the same position as we were in 10 years ago—or perhaps even further from a just, lasting solution. Nevertheless, the events and the very process itself show that no one has come up with a better formula to resolve the question of Cyprus than that accepted by the United Nations and advocated by the Non-Aligned Movement. We must therefore insist on a resumption of the negotiations and on the need for the Secretary-General to play the role of catalyst in them.

117. In this regard, we must stress the demonstrated good will of the Government of Cyprus in the face of the crudest provocations and its decision to opt for the path of negotiation. We were able to verify that decision during our visit to Cyprus as part of the non-aligned contact group, about two years ago, and throughout the process, including the period since the unilateral declaration of independence.

118. The Government of Cuba deplores the most recent actions taken by the Turkish Cypriot leaders, which flout Council resolution 541 (1983). I refer in particular to the decision to exchange ambassadors between Turkey and the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which we regard as null and completely invalid, because it deals a heavy blow to the endeavours of the international community, and in particular the Secretary-General, to promote a negotiated solution. It also runs counter to law. The rebellious attitude of the Turkish Cypriot leaders towards the decisions of this Organization deserve our vigorous protest. The Council should condemn their actions and take measures to discourage their continuation.

119. Despite all this, and even given the seeming intransigence of the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community at present, it would not be reasonable to abandon the path to a negotiated peaceful settlement laid down by the United Nations if we really want to preserve the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Cyprus, on the basis of the harmonious coexistence of the Greek and Turkish communities.

120. Hence, my delegation shares the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report of 1 May 1984, which is the view of those who have declared themselves in favour of dialogue and the resumption of honest negotiations between the two Cypriot communities, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, as soon as possible.

121. Of course, all this will be possible only when the steps taken last November and more recently have

been reversed. In other words, only when there has been an explicit renunciation by the Turkish Cypriot side of those actions can there be a successful return to the negotiating process which we all advocate.

122. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba is bound to the Republic of Cyprus by indestructible ties. We have always unswervingly defended its right to independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status, in other words, its right to decide its own future without outside interference. We therefore reject the unilateral declaration of independence. Today as in the past our support for the just cause of Cyprus is unwavering. That support is not only part and parcel of the philosophy of the Non-Aligned Movement but also the inescapable duty of this Council.

123. We are confident that the members of the Council will not fail to adopt the appropriate measures based on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations called for with justice by the Government of Cyprus and the international community.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.

NOTES

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475.

² *Conference on Cyprus: Documents signed and initialled at Lancaster House on 19 February 1959*, Cmnd. 679 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1959).

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